

Message Text

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ACTION SS-14

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C O N F I D E N T I A L ANKARA 3476

LIMDIS

FOR SECRETARY VANCE AND SECRETARY CLIFFORD FROM MACOMBER

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, MARR TU
SUBJ:YOUR LONDON TALKS WITH PRIME MINISTER DEMIREL

1. WHILE I AM NOT CERTAIN JUST HOW MUCH THIS WILL SURFACE IN YOUR LONDON MEETING WITH PRIMIN DEMIREL AND FONMIN CAGLAYANGIL, I WISH TO BE SURE THAT YOU BOTH ARE AWARE THAT THERE IS INCREASING FEELING HERE THAT WHAT WAS FORMERLY REGARDED AS A CONGRESSIONAL TILT AGAINST TURKEY HAS NOW SPREAD TO, AND IN EFFECT BEEN ENDORSED BY, THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH. THE BELIEF IS THAT THIS PERCEIVED TILT WILL BE CONSTANTLY REINFORCED THROUGH PRESSURES OF THE GREEK LOBBY IN CONGRESS, AND ALL TURKS ARE CONVINCED THAT ATHENS HAS VERY CONSIDERABLE INFLUENCE ON THAT LOBBY. THIS RAISES LONGER TERM IMPLICATIONS IN TURKISH MINDS AS TO WHETHER IT IS GOING TO BE POSSIBLE FOR THE TURKS TO RETAIN A VIABLE RELATIONSHIP WITH THE US IF, AS THEY TEND INCREASINGLY TO BELIEVE, THAT RELATIONSHIP IS ORCHESTRATED BY ATHENS THROUGH ITS STRONG INFLUENCE IN THE CONGRESS.

2. THE TURKS WERE NOT REPEAT NOT HAPPY ABOUT SECRETARY CLIFFORD'S COMPROMISE PROPOSALS AS THEY WERE INITIALLY
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AND INFORMALLY PRESENTED TO THEM. THEIR CONCERNS HAVE GROWN AS THEY HAVE SEEN THE PROPOSALS ERODED SIGNIFICANTLY, BOTH BEFORE AND AFTER THEY WERE PRESENTED TO THE CONGRESS. SECRETARY CLIFFORD HAS MADE THE POINT TO THEM THAT HE CONSIDERED BOTH HIS INITIAL RECOMMENDATION TO THE PRESIDENT AND THE REVISED PROGRAM THAT WENT TO HE CONGRESS FAIR AND EQUITABLE. YET THE TURKS

SAW NO IMPORTANT EFFORT BY THE ADMINISTRATION TO BATTLE FOR IT ON THE HILL. THE ARGUMENT THAT THE ADMINISTRATION IS NEVERTHELESS PROCURING \$175 MILLION WORTH OF CREDIT DOES NOT CARRY GREAT WEIGHT HERE. THE TURKS SEE THAT GREECE, A COUNTRY WHICH DOES NOT BORDER THE SOVIET UNION AND WHOSE ARMED FORCES ARE ONE-THIRD THE SIZE OF TURKEY'S, IS GETTING AN IDENTICAL LEVEL OF FMS SUPPORT, EXCEPT THAT IN GREECE'S CASE, \$35 MILLION OF THIS TOTAL IS IN THE FORM OF GRANT. MOREOVER, THIS DISPROPORTIONATE LEVEL OF SUPPORT GOES TO A COUNTRY WHOSE PER CAPITA GNP IS APPROXIMATELY THREE TIMES TURKEY'S. TURKS ALSO CONSTANTLY NOTE TO US THAT THERE IS NO LIMIT ON WHAT GREECE CAN BUY UNDER THE FMS SALES PROGRAM.

3. THE TURKS ARE NOT ABOUT TO BURN THEIR BRIDGES YET, BUT THE IMBALANCE IN THE US APPROACH TO THE TWO COUNTRIES AND THEIR CONTINUING CONVICTION THAT AT THE VERY LEAST THE MORAL RIGHTS AND WRONGS IN THE CYPRUS SITUATION ARE MIXED, ARE PUTTING THE US/TURKISH SECURITY PARTNERSHIP AT AN INCREASING RISK-WITH ALL THIS CAN EVENTUALLY ENTAIL, VIS-A-VIS THE STABILITY OF THIS END OF NATO, OUR PRESENCE IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN (WITH THE CONSEQUENCES THIS HAS BOTH FOR OUR MIDDLE EAST AND NATO INTERESTS), AND FUTURE DIFFICULTIES IN THE AEGEAN.

4. IN SUMMARY, THE TURKS GO TO LONDON WITH A GROWING SUSPICION OF AN ANTI-TURKISH BIAS ON THE PART OF THE NEW ADMINISTRATION-AND A CONTINUING WORRY THAT REGARDLESS OF WHAT THEY DO, THE DEMANDS OF THE GREEK LOBBY WILL

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ULTIMATELY CONTROL THE US/TURKISH RELATIONSHIP. I BELIEVE THE MOST IMPORTANT THING THAT CAN BE DONE IN LONDON IS TO DISABUSE THEM OF THIS AND CONVINCE THEM, ASSUMING A REASONABLE RECIPROCAL EFFORT ON THEIR PART, THAT A SOUND AND MUTUALLY VALUABLE US/TURKISH RELATIONSHIP CAN AND WILL BE RE-ESTABLISHED. BECAUSE OF THE PERVAIVENESS OF THESE TURKISH CONCERNS, I STRONGLY URGE THAT THIS EFFORT BE MADE REGARDLESS OF THE DEGREE TO WHICH THEY ARE SURFACED IN YOUR LONDON MEETINGS.
MACOMBER
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